171 826 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by [302] nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairabó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 [171] Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

171 192 When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis sheath, someone first told me the word nobó. This is the name given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakán (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohúa to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and húa, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [287] [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot. [531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitúa. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

• 302 [107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [852] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171 302 765 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 [177] [412] Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107 is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

302 171 515 [107:108] . . .in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267) wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[314] [314] Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or manage it as often with oil and urucú. They would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [881] [764] [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends, and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 593 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 261 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

261
826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaí. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[443] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304
[88] [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only. They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitíua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainiíua. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitíua (Photo. 22) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
874 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[398] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
891 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

1/4 [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankuruí or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauf [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[304] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
[237] (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
[114] tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

304 171 382 It should be pointed out further that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaíb [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

302 386 [108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

[171] The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types [192] of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

● 302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

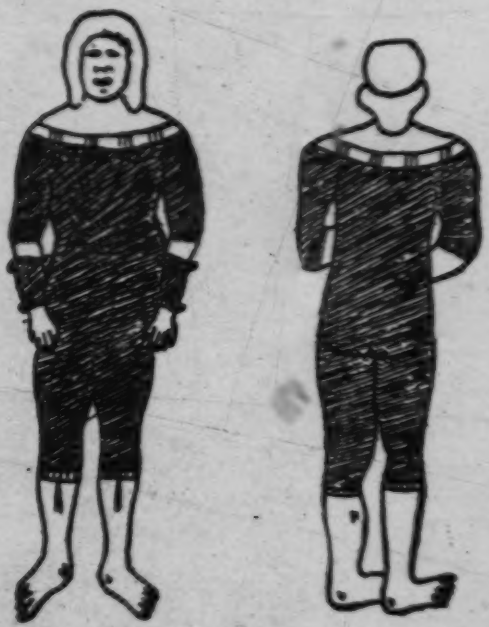

Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihaufua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter paint- [171] ing alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [171] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

Fig. 3. Ipihauíua male body painting.

it on the arms.

While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the 302 men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer 981 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

302 initiation. [Fig. 5 appears here.] I noted the same custom
881 among the Karajá. According to Reverend Kegel's observations,
[171] the Tapirapé boy who is about to be initiated bears a genipap design on the day of the ceremony, which consists of two parallel lines with dots between them, stretching from the corners of the mouth to the ears, from the root of the nose to its tip, from the chin cavity to the Adam's apple, from the shoulder to the elbow on the front and back surface of each arm, and from each side of the chest in duplicate down to a little above the knees, with a matching design on [108:126] the back. The tips of these last

Fig. 4. Chankoaka male body painting.

eight pairs of parallel lines with dots between them are connected by two bands of the same design, one running across the shoulders and the other around the thighs.

On this occasion, the urucú paste was applied not only to the boy's hair, but also to his cotton bracelets and knee bands, as well
302 as to the lower part of his legs and to his feet. Such red "stockings"

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9). [531] [881] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining material, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends. [462]

As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

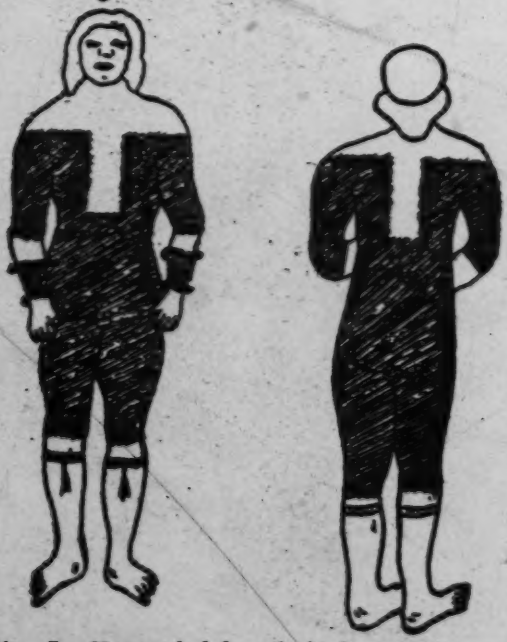

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

114 302 751 There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

114 urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts
●302 most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome in-
751 sects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as
body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used
[171] to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually
applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which
we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but
only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do
not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain
persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

302 The supposition that body painting originally had a magical
789 purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time,
would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation
[114] set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (avió, aviú) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. [412] According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into 237 the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanĩ if a small boy is concerned. Emẽ means "lower lip" (cheremẽ, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanĩ, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[802] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation ceremony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [881] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichĩ in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

1:Baldus--170 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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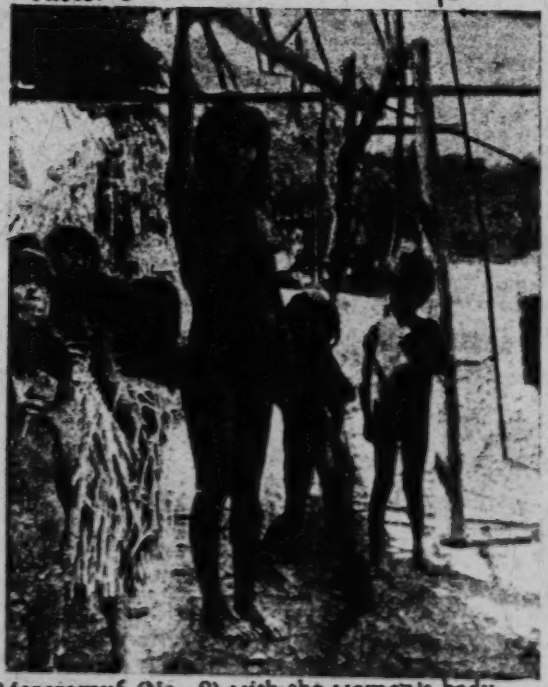
Photo. 3



Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankuré.

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Photo. 4

Manmonó (No. 111), Kaunevanvynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaia (No. 100).

1:Baldus--171 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 5

The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavĺ (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauĺ (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

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Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

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Photo. 9

Kanuana (No. 6), painted with urucu, with girl's tamankurá at the ankles.

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Photo. 10

Tamankurá on the forearms of a youth.

1:Baldus--173 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 5

Kamairi (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando ao redor do círculo da aldeia.

Kamairi (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had sweat in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 769

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 769

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a [illegible] a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Coniculus paca*). 775 825

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *anitenga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Wari', a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awaké awké* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *manyé awké*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [973]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 769]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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were tossing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikananeowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many *socó* (*Ibaorniões* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *anhánga* had several pots of *kauí* (1) and invited Ikananeowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kauí* was made from human blood. Ikananeowi watched one spirit drink of the *kauí* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikananeowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikananeowi danced and sang in the second shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kauí* of blood which dreads from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikananeowi, for these *anhánga* are very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *orêya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *orêya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not know him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *anhánga amá awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *anchánga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(1) *Kauí* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[593] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants
[256] could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maréntzunkanéra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *iwí činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[827] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[302] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[581] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kamió (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[578 (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
621] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairabo disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairá because he had killed Kaalhwaui, Kamairabo's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairabo's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamairabo's father".

[272 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
279] to be poisonous.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1960) 1943
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Case of Ipewungi

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Ipewungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice in shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw anhanga but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the anhanga he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-ete — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipewungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to feet, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

Case of Campukwi

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many ugé", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

/404 cont./

center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 282 and 283 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 284 and 285 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 282 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 283).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (ĩtwaĩ; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 284) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĩwĩrã, Ill. 285) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

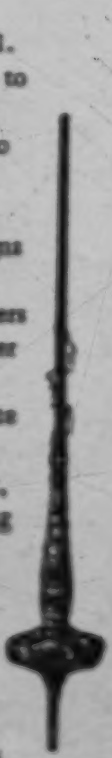
[TEXT Continues on P. 339]

Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

The whole-gourd vessel (kúlɨ̀; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kɨ̀ɨ̀dɨ̀; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

The doll (dɨ̀ɨ̀hò, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, which is led from one corner down along the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of



Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

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G:Baldus--13 E-5 (1946,1947)1948 SPEC Tapirapé SP22

Fig. 1. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 2. Tapirapé youth with frizzy hair, forearm ornaments, and body painting.

Plate 1

6: Baldus--14 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Plate 2

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Fig. 1. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 2. Tapirapé youth with distinctive type of body painting.

Fig. 5. Taptapé man named Inevy, with body painting.

Fig. 6. Taptapé youth with body painting and forearm ornaments.

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G: Baldus--16 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Fig. 3. Tapirapé youth.

Fig. 4. Tapirapé girl with the cranium characteristic of immature girls.

Fig. 9. Tampantxúa-Kamanaxé, about 45 years old, and in 1947 the oldest Tapirapé. He defended his village alone against the Kaiapó.

Fig. 10. Tapirapé youth making a wax doll.

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101 [18] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still posess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival • [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his [852] family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

88 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [224] time of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [340] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [334] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [298] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks; [556] cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [495] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of endurance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1961, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth Xanchampó, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1960)1948
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592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
• 902 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
901 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[902] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

904 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[904] (*Cuniculus paca*) teeth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
402 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

296 Weaving.—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
402 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinambá* and other *Tupí* groups.

923 Ceramics.—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
402 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

511 Gourds.—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are familiar and comfortable ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

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Plate 10—Tapirapé ornaments and house construction. Top, left: Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadem of cotton feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. Top, right: Women wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. The is intimidated by labrets and it's bizarre shape. Bottom, left: Construction of man's house. Bottom, right: Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to sing for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

* Cp. 170 AJ

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs

Charles Wagley

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large hayplle-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Opruntui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapewungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[179] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 115 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

116 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[799] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo do Pedro.

of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

Champukwi adjusted to Furo do Pedro with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo do Pedro were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Carajá Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

115 123 [526] [186] 122 123 [101] 122 123 881 [171] [301] [302] 122 123 [501] [481]

He was always pleased when

we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in. He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Champukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to transport our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next